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pour les statuettes) soient largement majoritaires dans le répertoire. Le type renvoie, comme d'autres traits de la civilisation matérielle de Paphos à l'Âge du Fer (obélus d'Opheltas, inscriptions du type X/Y proches de formules attestées en chyro-minoen), au Bronze Récent. Pourtant, rien ne confirme l'hypothèse d'une occupation continue du sanctuaire entre le Bronze Récent et l'époque archaïque (malgré ce qui est dit p. 5 s.; le commentaire est plus prudent p. 183). En tout cas, aucune des figurines publiées dans ce volume ne peut être sûrement attribuée à l'époque géométrique. Certes, le témoignage des nécropoles prouve que Paphos était une ville au début de l'Âge du Fer. Mais, comme dans les autres sanctuaires principaux des capitales de royaumes et comme dans les autres sanctuaires implantés sur le territoire de ces royaumes, aucun vestige (mobilier ou architectural) n'est antérieur à la fin du Chyro-Géométrique III.

Le petit nombre de sculptures en pierre découvertes dans le sanctuaire appelle, enfin, une dernière remarque. Certes, les récupérations de matériaux, les réaménagements ultérieurs peuvent rendre compte de cette absence. En effet, les bases inscrites d'époque ptolémaïque prouvent qu'à cette époque, de nombreuses statues, dont il ne reste rien aujourd'hui, étaient consacrées dans le sanctuaire. Mais cette explication est-elle valable pour l'époque archaïque? Les destructions probables qui ont conduit à la constitution des deux bothroi de terres cuites n'auraient-elles pas entraîné la création de bothroi semblables pour les sculptures en pierre, comme on en connaît ailleurs (par exemple à Salamine - Agios Varnavas)? Encore une fois, la comparaison avec les découvertes de Marchello me paraît pertinente: elle suggère que les offrandes de statuaire, et notamment de statuaire royale, étaient déposées dans un autre sanctuaire de l'Ancienne-Paphos, peut-être plus étroitement lié avec le palais.

Les questions, on le voit, sont nombreuses. Malgré l'absence de données contextuelles, le mobilier votif du sanctuaire d'Aphrodite apporte un témoignage important sur ce qui fut le lieu de culte principal de l'un des royaumes les plus puissants de l'île à l'époque archaïque. Car c'est essentiellement cette période, qui n'a laissé aucune trace architecturale dans le sanctuaire, que ce catalogue, solide et documenté, contribue à éclairer.

Lyon

Sabine Fourier

Hans Lohmann and Torsten Mattern (editors), *Attika. Archäologie einer »zentralen« Kulturlandschaft*. Akten der internationalen Tagung vom 18.–20. Mai 2007 in Marburg. Philippika. Marburger alttumskundliche Abhandlungen, volume 37. Editor Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden. X and 338 pages, 54 colour plates (at end), 5 tables, 1 of them loose.

The subject and theme of this collection of papers is Attica, seen as a central »Kulturlandschaft«, a term that

does not translate very happily into English. Attica is certainly central in modern Greece. Greece's capital, Athens, dwarfs every other city in the country, and now encompasses much of what would once have been the countryside of Attica. And the modern political centrality of Athens and Attica determines, in modern times, how the ancient Greek past is viewed. The annual review of archaeological activities in Greece, the *Archaiologikon Deltion*, begins in Athens (with the work of National Museums), then moves to the Acropolis, and works outwards to Attica and then to the surrounding regions (a pattern still followed until recently by both »Archaeology in Greece« (published in *Archaeological Reports*) and the *Chronique des fouilles en Grèce* (published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*). Greek professors of archaeology who hold permanent positions in places such as Ioannina or Rethymnon, and whose archaeological interests may not relate very closely to Athens or Attica, nonetheless often choose to reside in the nation's capital and commute to work by ship or plane. They do not wish to be away from the centre of things. Athens is, after all, where the Archaeological Society and the foreign schools (with their extensive libraries) are based. Athens is where a continual series of talks and seminars takes place, and where scholars of different nationalities studying the ancient world regularly meet and interact. All this lends Athens a certain centrality in what may be called the »scholarly imagination«. It is this centrality that underpins this volume. But is this view really warranted?

Well from the eighth century B. C. into Roman times, the region did enjoy a certain pre-eminence over other parts of the Aegean. Such pre-eminence as it enjoyed in the time of Pausanias in the second century A. D. was due however almost exclusively to the achievements of its inhabitants between approximately 550 to 250 B. C. – that is, the age of the Athenian democracy. And it is the shadow of Athenian democracy that looms over this volume, and presents the various contributors with something of a paradox. For, from a purely historical perspective, Athens' centrality was ephemeral, lasting only just over two hundred years. In the Bronze Age, first Crete then the Argolid were more central within the Aegean; from the third century B. C. onwards Athens was just one among many small cities, influenced or controlled by larger kingdoms to the North and South; Corinth, not Athens, was the capital of the Roman province of Achaia; and in Late Roman and Byzantine times Thessaloniki (not to mention Constantinople) was always more important. In many periods of history, Attica was not at the centre, but on the periphery; or, at best, only one Aegean region among many.

The nineteen papers in this volume represent the results of a conference held in Marburg in 2007. They cover a range of archaeological and historical material from the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity, and are written in German and English. They are arranged in an order that is partly chronological and partly thematic – with some awkward transitions between the two.

Taken together, they reflect the paradox of Attica. For some, Attica and Athens are central, primarily because of Athenian democracy and the long shadow it casts in the modern world; for others, because Attica is a region that urgently requires exploration before it is entirely eaten up by urban sprawl. Though the conference took place in Marburg, the perspective is in many ways that of the foreign schools. Two schools based in Athens have had major interests in exploring Attica, and both have ongoing excavations in this region – the American School of Classical Studies and the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. There is a further dimension – many (though not all) of the papers make frequent mention of the work of Hans Lauter, who had a particular interest in the topographical and historical study of central Attica, in particular the area between Vouliagmeni, Vari and Varkiza. The collected volume is not formally a *Festschrift*, but sometimes it reads like one.

The volume opens with a Preface by the editors that tries to balance these conflicting concerns. The first paper, by the veteran historian Karl-Wilhelm Welwei, reflects the concerns of his earlier book – Athens' 'Long March' to democracy. The story is familiar, and requires attention to both archaeological and literary evidence. As in his earlier book Welwei has a habit of resorting to archaeology only when the 'history' fails. It is best read for its often sharp observations on key issues of *Quellenkritik*. The next two papers take us back in time to the Bronze Age, and both make good use of the results of recent excavations at the Bronze Age site of Kiapha Thiti in the hills behind Vari. Florian Ruppenstein, best known for his work on the Submycenaean period in Attica, examines the relationship between Athens (with its substantial Mycenaean acropolis) and the land of Attica in Mycenaean times. It has long been known that Attica's principal tholos tombs at Menidi and Thorikos are located at some distance from the notional centre, and this raises questions about how unified Attica was in Mycenaean times. Hans Lohmann (in the first of his contributions) extends this argument, and offers a synthesis of settlement change in Attica. While many acropolis settlements whose occupation begins in the Middle Helladic period or earlier (such as Kiapha Thiti) continue into early Mycenaean times, a major break occurs at the end of Late Helladic II (SH II). Most hill-top sites are abandoned, at the same time as many rich chamber tomb cemeteries start up elsewhere, a change Lohmann wishes to associate with the 'synoecism' of Theseus. The significance of richly-furnished graves, and the notion that Attica was ruled by some kind of aristocratic class during much of its history, are explored in the next paper by Georg Kalaitzoglou. This looks specifically at the situation in the ninth century B.C., that is in Coldstream's terms the period between Early Geometric I to Middle Geometric I. Kalaitzoglou specifically engages in a critique of the argument put forward by Ian Morris, that most of the surviving graves form that of an aristocratic stratum in Athenian society, and thus are not representative of all the social groups that

had once existed in Early Iron Age Athens. Kalaitzoglou produces some useful tables and statistics (one of which, in the form of a loose leaf unattached to any pocket, will probably get lost in many libraries). But in critiquing Morris he also shows himself woefully ignorant of many other strands of Anglophone scholarship – in particular his understanding of the crucial question of gender (surely significant in an era that produces so many rich female graves) leaves much to be desired.

The next set of papers takes us into historical times. Hans Lauter (†) and Heide Lauter-Bufe make a short contribution reporting on a surface exploration of a small hill-top sanctuary near Varkiza. The deity worshipped (Zeus? by analogy with other locations) is not clear, and the finds, dating from circa 700 B.C. and continuing into Roman times, are exiguous, but the site may be an indication of how many small sanctuaries may have existed in Attica in historical times. Alexander Mazarakis Ainian and Antonia Liveratou make an altogether more substantial contribution. They re-appraise the material from the Archaeological Society of Athens' excavations at the Academy of Plato, previously only available in short reports in *Ergon* and *Praktika*. And at last they make sense of something that has perplexed many scholars (including this reviewer). The material comprises an Early Geometric deposit, tombs, and the 'sacred house', a structure built entirely of mud brick. If early cult existed here, it was brief and exiguous. The hero Akademos does not make his appearance before the late sixth century. Judit Lebegeyev looks at the evidence for basketry in Late Geometric Athens. A close analysis of a number of clay skeuomorphs of both handleless and handled baskets (accompanied by a useful catalogue) yields some rather precise information about how such things were made.

From the Geometric period we make a rather awkward jump to Late Classical and Early Hellenistic times. Daniela Summa discusses the evidence for the lists of the 'Didaskaloi': this refers to a group of inscriptions that list both those who had subsidised theatrical productions and those who had competed (*agonothetai*), and date from the late fifth century into the third century. They appear to provide evidence for the revival of plays in the late fourth and third centuries. One of the key inscriptions here (Agora I. Nr. 297) is written on 'Hymettan' marble, or rather the grey-flecked and grey-veined variety of Attic marble that has always been thought to have come from Mount Hymettos. Hans Rupprecht Goette, in his discussion of the routes by which marble was transported from Mount Pentelikon to Athens and in his search for other possible sources of marble, casts doubt on this common attribution. He argues that much of the blue-grey marble we find might in fact have been quarried from Mount Pentelikon.

Economic issues are explored in the next set of papers. Pavlos Karvounis discusses the archaeological and historical evidence for the commercial (as opposed to political) role of the Athenian agora in Classical, Hellenistic and Roman times. Gundula Lüdorf offers a re-appraisal of the



ceramic workshops of Late Archaic and Classical times. Are these small 'family businesses'? Or are they larger concerns, involved in what might be called mass production? Recent finds from the Mesogaia (the Spata survey and around Thorikos) suggest that, in the production of plainer vessels such as *lekanai*, such workshops might have been quite large – small factories as much as large workshops. Merle K. Langdon (the scholar who now has the best claim to a detailed topographical knowledge of Attica) examines the scanty literary and archaeological evidence for salt production in ancient times. We know salt was extracted from salt pans, and not mined, but changes to the coastline (in particular the effect of land-fill) have made the task of locating them much more difficult than it might have been a century ago.

Konstantinos Kalogeropoulos returns us to Archaic and Classical times and to cult. He provides a useful summary of the Greek Archaeological Service's excavations at the sanctuary of Artemis Tauropolos at Loutsa (ancient Halai), a small sanctuary on the East coast of Attica just to the North of the larger and more important sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron. Though modest, cult here is mentioned in Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris*. The cult here begins around 720 B.C. and lasts into Early Hellenistic times, with four defined phases (Early Archaic, with handmade figurines of humans and horses; Late Archaic/Early Classical, with the earliest evidence for temple construction, and finds, principally mould-made terracottas of seated females; 'High Classical' with evidence of extensive re-building and re-roofing of the temple in the form of architectural terracottas; and the Early Hellenistic). Anne-Sophie Koeller takes a brief look at Attic peribolos tombs, and considers whether this form provided a model for funerary architecture elsewhere in the Greek world. The examples she chooses for comparison – Marseilles and Apollonia Pontica – are in some ways awkward, and she reaches no definite conclusion.

Mark Munn brings us back to issues of landscape and territory. He discusses the role of fortifications along the frontier between Attica and Boeotia in the fourth and early third centuries B.C., with particular reference to the fortress of Panakton on the Skourta plain. Such fortifications are rarely in positions where they can control routes, in a strictly military sense. They are more to mark territory, as much symbolically as practically – an issue explored earlier by Nigel Spencer in a series of articles on Archaic Lesbos, which are not referenced here. Torsten Mattern takes us on to Late Antiquity and Early Byzantine times, when Attica was thought (by some) to have been entirely abandoned. Attica was certainly invaded on numerous occasions between the Herulians in 267 and the Slavs in 578 A.D. But did this turn Attica into a 'Scythian Waste'? Mattern's thorough analysis of the evidence suggests that Attica was reasonably prosperous in Late Antiquity. The evidence for occupation outside of Athens in Early Byzantine times (post 578) however remains scanty at best.

There is then an awkward jump back to the central issue of Athens and Attica – Athenian democracy (508–322

BC). Gabriel Herman collects a range of comparative modern data, archaeological evidence, and a number of distinguished witnesses from Aristotle to Francis Dalton to forcefully argue that the direct democracy of Athens probably made better decisions than comparable Greek oligarchies. The larger the crowd (or assembly), the 'smarter' (that is, the better) the collective decision. This is an argument that will be of great interest to scholars and social scientists alike – but I fear many will have difficulty finding it!

The last two papers deal with historiography. Martin Kreeb, who has made a number of contributions to the history of classical archaeology and classical scholarship, provides a brief history of the contribution of travellers to Attica, from Cyriac of Ancona to William Martin Leake. It is difficult to judge this paper, as the role of travellers is one that has been much discussed in Anglophone scholarship for some time. It might provide a corrective to the view that 'Archäologie' begins with Winckelmann and was continued by Curtius, Dörpfeld and Furtwängler. But it is, unfortunately, full of avoidable factual errors; the British Academy (p. 247) cannot have been responsible for anything in this period, as it was only founded in 1901 – Kreeb must mean the 'Royal Society', which did support a range of archaeological activity in Greece (notably Burgon's investigations, which are not mentioned); and the Roman caryatid that Edward D. Clarke removed from Eleusis is not to be found in the British Museum, but rather the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (p. 250).

The topographical theme is continued by Hans Lohmann's second contribution, which looks at the maps of Attica produced between 1875 and 1900. These maps, drawn on a scale of 1:25,000, were the product of a joint venture between the newly founded German Archaeological Institute and the 'Prussian' High Command. That Professor Ernst Curtius and Field Marshall Graf von Moltke could have persuaded the Greek authorities to agree is a mark of the high standing in which German scholarship was then held. Surveying using theodolites was shared between a number of army officers, many from distinguished Prussian military families. The maps covered both modern features (hills, villages, springs, streams) and ancient topography. Hans Lohmann is perhaps uniquely well equipped to assess the value of their work, as he can compare their results with those from his intensive survey of southern Attica.

To anyone who knows Attica, these maps represent a unique resource – giving an indication, for example, of how many Archaic grave mounds there must once have been. There is a temptation here for the foreign archaeologist working in Greece to indulge in nostalgia for a time of when the possibilities of exploration for foreign scholars (British, German, French or American) seemed unlimited. It is also to be reminded of how much of Attica has been lost to unplanned and unregulated urban sprawl. This is one possible reaction to Lohmann's paper, one which (like Herman's) stands out from this very mixed bag of articles.

But there is another, one that takes us back to the issue of Athens' ›centrality‹. For, at the time of writing (February 2012), Greece has suddenly become ›central‹ to the interconnected, modern world economy. In an ironic twist however, modern Greek democracy, as client-based and corrupt as it often is, has been temporarily suspended. The present Prime Minister of modern Greece, Lucas Papademos was not elected by the Greek people but appointed to appease those angry deities, The Markets. The price of modern Greece remaining European in the eyes of established, modern representative democracies, like France and Germany, is years of enforced austerity. When the previous prime minister, George Papandreou, proposed following a model of direct democracy of the kind celebrated by Herman, and put the proposed austerity measures to a referendum, he was summarily removed from office. From a modern Greek perspective, the claim frequently made by Western Europeans and Americans – that they take their inspiration from the example of ancient Athenian democracy – begins to seem a little hypocritical. This is an irony that could not have been foreseen by the organisers of the conference. But it is one that events have forced upon us.

Cardiff

James Whitley

Ralf Krumeich e Christian Witschel (editori), **Die Akropolis von Athen im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit**. Casa editrice Dr. Ludwig Reichert, Wiesbaden 2010. X e 526 pagine, 81 tavole.

Il volume, contenente gli atti del colloquio tenutosi nel 2006 presso l'Università di Bonn con l'aggiunta di due nuovi contributi scritti appositamente, tratta degli usi – e dei riusi – dei monumenti dell'acropoli di Atene come luogo dell'irriducibile identità culturale greca con tratti in parte »museali« (aggettivo da impiegare con cautela) nel periodo post-classico, dal tardo quarto secolo a. C. in poi e con una particolare concentrazione nei due secoli a cavallo del passaggio di secolo. L'arco temporale tra l'inizio del secondo secolo dell'epoca imperiale e l'età tardo-antica, pur sintetizzato nell'introduzione iniziale, è invece preso in scarsa o nulla considerazione, anche perché ad esempio, come noto, gli interventi di Adriano si concentrarono soprattutto sulla città bassa a sud. Il colloquio ha rappresentato il coronamento della prima fase di un progetto avviato dai due curatori sin dal 2004, finalizzato al rilevamento sistematico e fotografico delle basi dell'acropoli e ora esteso all'indagine della decorazione statuaria dei santuari e degli spazi pubblici in Attica e a Delo; ciò spiega perché alcuni contributi, tra i più significativi all'interno del libro, si focalizzino sulle basi di statue, con un registro finale delle loro iscrizioni.

La messa in scena dei punti nevralgici per la memoria ateniese cominciò sull'acropoli subito dopo l'invasione

persiana, con l'ostentazione nel muro settentrionale di parti dell'alzato del tempio di Atena Polias (mai più ricostruito e a poco a poco del tutto smantellato) e dei tamburi del Pre-Partenone: è discutibile l'idea di Riccardo Di Cesare (già presentata nel 2004 in un articolo sulla »storia murata«) che quest'ultimi servissero a rimandare alla vittoria di Maratona; semmai, essi, più semplicemente e al pari degli altri resti, testimoniavano l'empietà della distruzione persiana in ossequio al giuramento di Platea, pur senza poter essere equivalenti ai macigni (δολιτροχοί) lanciati dal drappello composto di tesoriери della dea e di cittadini poveri, rimasto secondo Erodoto a difesa dell'acropoli. Pare altrettanto dubbioso che un'attitudine antiquaria nei confronti del passato e una pari evidenza memoriale di rovine fossero sprigionate da tre architravi arcaici appartenenti all'enigmatica »Architettura H« e allineati sullo stesso filare della cortina meridionale; su quest'ultima si accumularono in età ellenistica diversi monumenti, come il Piccolo Donario degli Attalidi o l'egida in bronzo dorato con gorgoneion centrale dedicata da un dinasta seleucide, attratti non tanto dal ricordo del punto dell'irruzione dei Persiani, quanto piuttosto dall'alta visibilità assicurata dalla presenza alle pendici meridionali di alcuni luoghi più frequentati in assoluto, come il teatro di Dioniso e il santuario di Asclepio.

Sull'acropoli ai giorni della visita di Pausania erano ancora visibili diverse dediche antecedenti la cesura dell'invasione persiana, passate in rassegna, senza però andare al di là dei commenti già disponibili, da Andreas Scholl, come la quadriga dei Beoti e Calcidesi, il primo anathema elevato dalla città dopo l'avvento della democrazia, un monumento con più redazioni, una dopo la vittoria del 506 a. C., l'altra riferita convenzionalmente alla metà circa del quinto secolo (ma è illusorio il collegamento con battaglia di Enofta del 457 a. C.). Molte sono state le proposte avanzate per la sua localizzazione in base alle indicazioni di Erodoto e di Pausania, a prima vista non conciliabili: secondo Scholl, in sintonia con l'opinione prevalente, la quadriga, in origine posizionata in un punto vicino alla più tarda statua fidiaca dell'Atena cosiddetta Promachos, fu distrutta dai Persiani per poi essere ripristinata nelle vicinanze dei Propilei (dove la vede Erodoto) e più tardi rimessa nel punto di partenza (dove la registrerebbe Pausania); eppure, una recente e convincente rilettura del brano di Pausania può contribuire a una semplificazione, riducendo un po' la mobilità di quella quadriga, perché in fondo non v'è bisogno di dedurre una sua strettissima prossimità alla Promachos; il monumento dunque, almeno nel rifacimento post-persiano poté restare sempre nella medesima posizione, in un'area compresa tra i Propilei e la Promachos, e non è da escludere che anche il donario originario si trovasse nello stesso punto (così M. C. Monaco, *Annu. Scuola Arch. Italiana Atene e missioni italiane in Oriente* 87, 2009, 294–299).

Per il periodo proto- e medioellenistico, più dei vistosi e studiati monumenti dinastici o dei pilastri (sparsi anche per l'asty), citati solo di sfuggita, sono altri i documenti dell'acropoli trattati nel volume. Così

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